

Message Text

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FOR HODDING CARTER FROM PA/PRESS

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SUBJECT: MORNING PRESS SUMMARY, APRIL 19, 1978

NO. 11

NEWSPAPERS

NEW YORK TIMES -- GWERTZMAN FROM LONDON

LEAD: "IN THE AFTERMATH OF HIS INCONCLUSIVE AFRICAN TRIP
SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE IS PINNING AMERICAN
HOPES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ON SOMEHOW ENTICING JOSHUA NKOMO,
THE MORE FLEXIBLE OF THE TWO RHODESIAN GUERRILLA LEADERS,
TO JOIN IN A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WITH THE SALISBURY
GOVERNMENT EVEN IF ROBERT MUGABE, THE OTHER GUERRILLA
LEADER, REFUSES."

OTHER POINTS:
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-- AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID THAT SUCH A POLICY POSED RISKS
WITH NO CERTAINTY OF SUCCESS. BUT IT HELPS EXPLAIN WHY
VANCE AND OWEN SEEM SO INTENT ON KEEPING EVEN THE FLICKER
OF INTEREST IN NEGOTIATIONS ALIVE.

-- ONCE EITHER THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, OR THE SALISBURY
GROUP ABSOLUTELY RULES OUT TALKS WITH THE OTHER, NKOMO
WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT TO BREAK AWAY FROM MR.
MUGABE, THE MORE MILITANT OF THE TWO.

-- AS THE RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS LAST WEEKEND WITH THE GUERRILLA LEADERS, VANCE NOW SEEMS CONVINCED THAT MUGABE WILL REJECT ANY COMPROMISE IN WHICH THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE A FAIR CHANCE OF WINNING A FREE ELECTION. VANCE'S VIEW OF MR. MUGABE WAS SHARED BY OWEN, WHO RESENTED THE PERSONAL ATTACKS LEVELED AGAINST HIM IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

-- YOUNG IS LESS CRITICAL OF MR. MUGABE AND BELIEVES THAT A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT MUGABE'S PARTICIPATION.

-- VANCE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN STRUCK BY THE DETERMINATION OF SMITH AND HIS BLACK ASSOCIATES TO SUCCEED IN THEIR OWN ARRANGEMENTS FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE. VANCE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY MR. SMITH'S SERIOUSNESS AND HIS LEADERSHIP QUALITIES. YET MR. VANCE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE BLACK MEMBERS OF THE SALISBURY GROUP WERE LESS WILLING TO WELCOME NKOMO OR MUGABE INTO NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF A DESIRE TO KEEP BLACK POWER FOR THEMSELVES.

-- IN THE ACTUAL DISCUSSIONS THE MEDIATORS FOUND THE GUERRILLA LEADERS LESS CONCILIATORY THAN NYERERE HAD PROMISED. THIS RAISED THE QUESTION WHETHER THE AFRICAN SUPPORTERS OF THE GUERRILLA ALLIANCE HAD MISLED THE MEDIATORS OR HAD THEMSELVES BEEN MISLED.

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-- THE AMERICAN HOPE IS THAT SINCE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS PLEDGED TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE OF ALL PARTIES, THE SALISBURY GROUP WILL BE RELUCTANT TO APPEAR LESS FORTHCOMING AND WILL IN THE END AGREE TO ATTEND ALSO. THEN, THE REASONING GOES, UNDER THE COVER OF A GENERAL DISCUSSION, MR. NKOMO MIGHT MAKE A DEAL WITH THE SALISBURY GROUP TO ACCEPT ELEMENTS OF THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PLAN AND TO NEGOTIATE THEIR DIFFERENCES, THEREBY FORCING MUGABE TO FIGHT A GUERRILLA WAR WITH HIS FORCES ALONE OR TO JOIN IN THE SETTLEMENT, TOO.

-- BUT, FOR NKOMO TO DECIDE THAT IT SERVES HIS INTERESTS TO STRIKE A DEAL, THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE PERCEIVED AS HAVING ENOUGH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT TO MAKE ITS INTERNAL SETTLEMENT PLAN SUCCESSFUL. THIS REQUIRES THE UNITED STATES AND

BRITAIN TO AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF OUTRIGHT HOSTILITY TO SALISBURY. IT ALSO REQUIRES THAT WASHINGTON AND LONDON NOT APPEAR TO BE ON THE SIDE OF SALISBURY GROUP, FOR THAT WOULD LEND CREDENCE TO THE

SKEPTICISM IN MUCH OF THAT, IN THE END THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS WILL SUPPORT RACISM.

WASHINGTON POST -- MARDER FROM LONDON

LEAD: "VANCE HAS COME OUT OF HIS FIRST-HAND EXPOSURE TO THE RHODESIAN CRISIS ALARMED THAT A PRO-MARXIST NATION MAY EMERGE THERE THROUGH A CONVERGENCE OF THE MOST MILITANT BLACK NATIONALISTS NOW ON OPPOSING SIDES."

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OTHER POINTS:

-- YOUNG SEES SUCH A DEVELOPMENT AS MORE LIKELY THAN VANCE DOES. BUT YOUNG DOES NOT HOLD THE SAME DEGREE OF APPREHENSION AS VANCE ABOUT AFRICANS WHO COME TO POWER PROFESSING MARXIST-LENINIST COMMITMENT. UNDER THEIR ASSESSMENT, THE INFLUENCE OF AFRICAN CULTURE WILL GREATLY DILUTE OR NULLIFY THE DANGER THAT SUCH NATIONS WILL TOPPLE INTO SOVIET-CUBAN OR CHINESE COMMUNIST ALIGNMENT.

-- AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS ON THE VANCE MISSION HAVE CONCLUDED THAT PROBABLY ONLY A SHIFT OF ALLIANCES AMONG RHODESIA'S RIVAL BLACK LEADERS CAN HEAD OFF A BLACK-AGAINST-BLACK CIVIL WAR. THE ODDS ON THAT WAR COMING NOW APPEAR HIGHER THAN EVER.

-- THIS WOULD MEAN THAT BLACK MODERATES IN THE NEW INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD JOIN MODERATES IN THE RIVAL PATRIOTIC FRONT. CONVERSELY, THE MORE MILITANT OF THE BLACK NATIONALISTS ARE NOW IN CAMP WITH SMITH MIGHT JOIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S MOST MILITANT LEADER.

-- FOR THE FIRST TIME, ONE FORM OF POTENTIAL SWITCH - HAS NOW BEEN PRIVATELY DISCUSSED ON-THE-SCENE IN SALISBURY AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL. VANCE AND OWEN, IT WAS LEARNED, EXPLORED THE IDEA OF DRAWING NKOMO INTO AN ALLIANCE PRIMARILY WITH MUZOREWA.

-- THE COUNTERPART OF THIS IS CONSIDERABLE CONCERN AMONG ANGLO-AMERICAN AND MODERATE AFRICAN SPECIALISTS THAT A COMBINATION OF MUGABE AND NOABININGI SITHOLE, ANOTHER INTERNAL BLACK LEADER, MAY EMERGE, UNITING THE MILITANTS IN A STRONGER RACE TO WIN CONTROL OF RHODESIA.

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-- TO YOUNG, MUGABE'S DEMANDS AND IDEOLOGY ARE NOT SO

FRIGHTENING. YOUNG SEES THE DEMANDS AS BARGAINING, AFRICAN-STYLE, AND THE IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT AS THE TALK OF A LIBERATION WARRIOR LIKE THE AFRICAN LEADERS WHO PROFESS ORTHODOX MARXISM BUT PRACTICE PRAGMATISM WITH WEST AND EAST.

-- VANCE, HOWEVER, REGARDS MUGABE AS A GENUINE IDEOLOGUE, AS DOES BRITAIN'S OWEN.

-- NYERERE AND KAUNDA BELIEVE NKOMO IS THE RIGHT MAN TO BRING INTO A PEACEFUL COMPROMISE TO AVOID WIDER WAR, AMERICAN SOURCES NOT. MUGABE, BY CONTRAST, SINCERELY BELIEVES, AUTHORITATIVE AMERICAN SOURCES SAID, IN A "LONG-RUN MILITARY STRUGGLE" TO ACHIEVE GENUINE BLACK RULE IN RHODESIA.

-- THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL DANGER THAT DANGLES OVER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS THAT OF AN AVOWEDLY MARXIST LEADER GAINING A COMMANDING ROLE IN RHODESIA. VANCE IS QUITE CONSCIOUS OF THIS RISK.

-- OWEN TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT ONE OF THE GREATEST DIFFICULTIES IN BRINGING THE OPPOSING SIDES TOGETHER ON RHODESIA NOW IS THAT "BOTH OF THEM THINK THEY ARE WINNING."

BALTIMORE SUN -- NO TREWHITT

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR -- SOUTHERLAND FROM LONDON

LEAD: "VANCE FLIES TO MOSCOW FOR NEW SALT NEGOTIATIONS AT A TIME WHEN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO BE DEALING FROM WEAKNESS ON SEVERAL FOREIGN-POLICY FRONTS."

OTHER POINTS:

-- CRITICS CONTEND THAT THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO TAKE

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A TOUGH LINE IN THE SALT TALKS WITH VANCE BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY MUST PERCEIVE AS SEVERE "INDECISION" WITHIN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ON A NUMBER OF ISSUES. VANCE'S APPARENT FAILURE TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE RHODESIA CONFLICT CLOSER TOGETHER, CONTINUED DEADLOCK IN THE EGYPT-ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS AND CARTER'S RECENT ZIGZAG COURSE ON THE NEUTRON WARHEAD ARE CITED AS EVIDENCE OF DISARRAY IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.

-- BECAUSE OF AN AMERICAN INABILITY TO DEAL WITH SOVIET AND CUBAN MOVES IN AFRICA, THE SOVIETS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO "TEST" THE ADMINISTRATION RATHER THAN MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF COMPROMISE AT THE MOMENT.

-- SOME EXPERTS ADD TO THE CRITICISM THE OPINION THAT

BEHIND-THE-SCENES JOCKEYING FOR LEADERSHIP NOW IS OCCURRING AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN THE SOVIET UNION. AT THIS DELICATE JUNCTURE, NO SOVIET LEADER IS LIKELY TO WANT TO BE SEEN MAKING SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS TO THE UNITED STATES.

-- ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS TRAVELING WITH VANCE REJECT THE CRITICISM. THEY SAY THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO MOVE TOWARD A NEW SALT TREATY.

-- THE ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAY THE SOVIETS HAVE SOME NOTABLE WEAKNESSES OF THEIR OWN: DECLINING ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY AND THE RELATIVE WEAKNESS OF THE SOVIETS' TECHNOLOGICAL BASE VIS-A-VIS THAT OF THE UNITED STATES.

NETWORKS

NO REPORTS FROM THE TRAVELLING PRESS.
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CBS MORNING NEWS INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING COMMENTARY FROM ROD MACLEISH.

TEXT:

THINGS ARE SO BAD IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AT THIS POINT THAT PROGRESS ON WHAT BOTH SIDES WANT CAN ONLY BE MADE AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. THAT'S THE MAIN SIGNIFICANCE OF SECRETARY VANCE'S VISIT TO MOSCOW.

THE SYMPTOMATIC PROBLEM AND PRINCIPAL HOPE IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS THE SECOND STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY KNOWN AS SALT II. BOTH SIDES ARE ANXIOUS TO COMPLETE A SALT II AGREEMENT. BUT THE PERCEPTUAL PROBLEMS OF MOSCOW AND THE POLITICAL CLIMATE IN WASHINGTON ARE STANDING IN THE WAY. PRESIDENT CARTER IS GOING TO HAVE A HARD TIME IN GETTING ANY STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT THROUGH CONGRESS UNLESS THERE'S A WARMING IN THIS COUNTRY'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THAT WOULD REQUIRE -- AMONG OTHER THINGS -- THAT THE SOVIETS STOP STIRRING THE WATERS IN AFRICA. ON ITS SIDE, MOSCOW IS HAVING A HARD TIME GETTING A CLEAR FIX ON THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

LAST MONTH THE PRESIDENT MADE ONE OF THOSE TOUGH SPEECHES WARNING THE RUSSIANS THAT WE'D MATCH THEM WEAPON FOR WEAPON. THEN, A FEW WEEKS LATER, THE PRESIDENT SUSPENDED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEUTRON BOMB.

SO, SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS STILL TRYING TO DOPE OUT MR. CARTER, AND APPARENTLY THE ONLY WAY IT FEELS SECURE IN

DOING THAT IS THE TIME-WORN ONE -- CAUSE TROUBLE SOME-
WHERE AND SEE HOW A NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION IS GOING
TO REACT. THAT'S A PRIMITIVE TECHNIQUE, AND IT REFLECTS
THE INSTITUTIONAL MYOPIA IN MOSCOW. IT'S ALSO SELF-
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DEFEATING, BECAUSE THE CHALLENGES THEY'RE THROWING DOWN
IN AFRICA AND MAY THROW DOWN IN THE MIDDLE EAST THREATEN
WHAT THE SOVIETS WANT MOST, A SECOND ARMS CONTROL TREATY
THAT CAN BE RATIFIED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. CHRISTOPHER

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